235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
417 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

235 During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
177 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang region and were called elõ (wild duck = elõ'ŋ); later they were called sõ̃ã̃' III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yɔ̀ɔ̀) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esi'si' a kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (myũfũh IV, bã̃ã̃' IV
● 232 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wũ̃ã̃' ; plural, mã̃ã̃'), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

262 The names for the various parts of the slaughtered animal (goat) can be seen in Figure 92.

Among invertebrate animals, the following are eaten: the larvae (fɔ́s IV) of the palm weevil Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. and of the rhinoceros beetle Angosoma centaurus F. Pl. (larva = akɨ̄m); even the large elephant dung beetle Copris (ejā́ ʒok, Jaunde) by the Jaunde; 21 different kinds of caterpillars, mostly Saturnidae (nkúń I = edible caterpillar); dragonfly larvae and termites (sûme IV Ntum, kăp Jaunde); common crabs and shrimp; snails, with the exception of Limacidae; and a river mussel.

Of the lower animals mentioned, the rhinoceros beetle larvae, which live in the leafstalks of the raffia palm, deserve to be noticed by Europeans. They taste very good fried and may indeed almost be regarded as a delicacy (one recalls the cossus /Ed., a kind of larvae under the bark of trees/ of the Romans!). Even the termites might be a tasty dish if the unpleasant long wings could be removed. In the Mwele region near Simekoa I saw termite nests of the variety called kăp carefully fenced inside the plantations. As they fly out in great numbers, they are caught in baskets; some of them are eaten alive with the wings, and some of them are prepared by the women. They taste like raw eggs, and if they were baked into some kind of bread, they would not be at all bad, if it were not for the fact, as I mentioned earlier, that the wings are an undesirable accompaniment.

If the Pangwe were not so deficient in hunting skill, if they did not have a genuine horror of slaughtering their domestic animals, and if they were to set traps somewhat more industriously and regularly, /145/ they would not suffer any dearth of fresh meat in view of the abundance of game in their land, but as it is, plants chiefly make up their diet.

●232 262 The cultivated vegetables have already been mentioned in the previous section. /Fig. 92 appears here in the original text./ Under ordinary circumstances wild vegetables are only a part of the regular fare, but during periods of famine or on other occasions when food has become scarce, these plants frequently serve as staples for the Pangwe.

192
262

Fig. 92. Names of the Cuts of Meat in a Slaughtered Animal:
(1) head = nlo; (2) neck = kiñ; (3) breast = ekokob; (4) lower neck = engut; (5) joint = aba; (6) blade and front leg = enam; (7) back piece = epfa-ebok; (8) rump = oduk; (9) flank = mvöbe; (10) belly = abum; (11) pieces above the genitals = ekila; (12) shank and hind leg = abo.

277
278 Among palms, we should mention especially the oil palm, the raffia palm, and above all Ancistrophyllum, whose innermost leaves (palm cabbage) are eaten; of Begoniaceae we should mention Begonia poggei Wrbg. (esĭñ e kŏĕ Ntum) and Begonia ciliobracteata Wrbg. (esĭñ e kŏ'ŏe); of Amaranthaceae Celosia argentea L. (num engŏn, num afŏñ), Celosia laxa Schum., etc. (num e fo'o'm), and Pupalia lappacea L. (num e kŏŏ'n); of Acanthaceae Justicia insularis T. And. (fĕ'ĕ), Endosiphon obliquus Clke. (num ndzĕ'i, maskmengŏmo III), and Pseuderanthemum nigritianum (T. And.) Radlk. (ndzĕ'i I); of Urticaceae Urera laurentii de Wild. (mfŏs I) and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gand. (ngŏŏ'n IV); of Euphorbiaceae Micrococca mercurialis (L.) Benth. (otŏk); of Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbŏbe-bŏ'mo IV); of Melastomataceae Dinophora spenneroides Bth. (esĭñ-eli) and Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (esĭñ-bongŏn-b'oje'k); of Moraceae Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangŏme III Fang, engukŏ'm Ntum, Jaunde); of Araceae Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (nsĕ'k IV, klŏs IV); of Dioscoreaceae Dioscorea prehensilis Bth. (esĕ'k); and finally, of ferns (sŏ'k IV), in particular Dryopteris

222 tomentella C. Chr., Dryopteris megaphylla (Met.) C. Chr. (mejá
262 m'abǒk), Dryopteris parasitica (L.) O. Ktz. (undúndu akǒ), Dryopteris gongylodes (Kuhn) O. Ktz. (engás), Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) (nkádenâ' III), Alsophila camerunensis Diels (ezízón-oíǫe), and Diplazium silvaticum (Borg.) Sw. (esé't).

245 Fruits are cultivated very little. In this category the
262 banana is the only native of any antiquity. The following have been recently introduced: the pineapple (nkǒkajâ'á I Fang, ekanemyé'ǎ Ntum) (1), which is scattered over the entire territory

1. nkǒk = sugar, ajáń = Liliaceae, Cyperaceae; ekáń sedge (from the Mwele), because of the leaves which are similar to those of the Cyperaceae.

although planted only in small numbers; the papaya Carica papaya (pí'pí' Jaunde, adíábemáńgan Ntum, Fang) (2), which has scarcely

2. adíáb - Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.; e ntáńgán = of the Whites.

passed beyond a narrow coastal strip and whose little trees can be counted; small, bitter lemons, Citrus /146/ limonum Risso (oló Fang, alǒ Ntum, ngǎmbí'á IV); and oranges that are almost inedible for Europeans.

Coconut palms (mbáá I, ngǒmǒ I, Ntum, Fang; mvú'ngú' IV Jaunde) are to be found only along the coast and even there only in small numbers.

The native "bush plum," Pachylobus edulis E. Don., var. mubafo Engl., Burseracea (así' Ntum, olá Fang), which is found only in or near villages, may be cultivated. The attractive lilac-
[illegible] blue or beautiful rose-colored fruits are roasted on the fire, and the yellow, quite tasty meat of the fruit is eaten warm.

222 All the other fruits eaten by the Pangwe grow wild. Related
262 to the bush plum in shape and in the taste of its fruit is Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (así; fruit, sá IV); the fruit is prepared in the

same manner. The fruit of the Sapotacea Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adzăb; fruit, ebŏn), which contains oil, is very important. It resembles a large apple; the jelly in which the two to four seeds are imbedded is very sticky, but quite tasty. The seeds are used in the preparation of oil. Next to these, Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubacea (andŏk; fruit, ndŏk IV) is of great importance. Strangely enough, the Pangwe do not value the juice of the fruit's yellow meat, which is extraordinarily fragrant and refreshing, on the condition, to be sure, that the fruit is just at the right state of ripeness. Indeed, in contrast to the coastal tribes, they attach little importance to many forest fruits (for instance, the fruit of the cardamom, of the palm Podococcus barteri, and others) and do not know how to make use of them. The nourishing contents of the [25-1] kernel of the Irvingia barteri are eaten after being dried or worked into a kind of mush. The Pangwe are incapable of preparing as tasty a sauce from the fruit as that made by the Bamŭ; the nut bread of the Mpongwe is also unknown to them. Other important edible nuts are Coula edulis Baill., Olacinacea (ewŏgŏmŏ, Fang; ewŏ'me, Ntum; fruit, kŏ'mŏ or kŏ'me); Panda oleosa Pierre (afă'ne[k] ;fruit, fŏne[k] and a variety unknown to me (andŏ' ; fruit, ndŏ' IV). Very tasty and refreshing fruit is supplied by the following trees: Burseracea Pachylobus macrophyllus (Oliv.) (andŏbŏ'm Ntum, atŏ'm Fang; fruit, ndŏbŏ'm IV Ntum, tŏ'm IV Fang); Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (amyŏt, fruit myŏt IV; and engŏă, fruit ngŏă); the pulp of various Landolphia varieties, namely, Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (ayŏ'm). Landolphia piriformis Stapf (dzŏ III), and two other varieties (efŏŏ'to Fang and kŏ'mo III), in which the seeds are imbedded, is somewhat sour but quite refreshing. All the remaining fruits -- inasfar as I have tasted them -- have scarcely any special charm for the European; indeed some, like Laccodiscus and Pseudospondias, have a downright horrible taste and are -- as they say in West Africa -- "good for blackmen, no good for whitemen." Their names are: Parinarium tessmannii Engl., Rosacea (efŏ'i); Chrysophyllum tessmannii Engl., Sapotacea (mbă'm I); Pachylobus tessmannii Engl., Burseracea (nga-angŏŏngŏ'); Laccodiscus spinulosus denterus Radlk., Sapindacea (efŏ'ŏŏ); Pseudospondias microcarpa

(Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofɔ̌s); Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl., likewise (angɔ̌ɔ̌n); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebɑ̌ɑ̌l); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abɛ̌); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onɔ̌n, tɔ̄mok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisɑ̌ɑ̌d); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangɑ̌me III Fang, engɔ̌kɔ́m Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alɔ̌ɔ̌); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akɑ̌k e sɑ̌ɑ́n); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Loganiaceae (diɑ̌-odzɑ̌dzɑ̌k or bodzɑ̌bodzɑ̌dzɑ̌k); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abɛ̌-olɔ̌ɔ̌e); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (alɔ́n-e ndzɑ̌k); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apfɔ̌m); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebɔ̌m eli); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alɔ̄mɑ̌, alɔ̄ma, and akɑ̌ndɔ̌m); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamyɔ̌ne); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adɔ̌ɔ̌m, fruit, edɔ̌n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found indispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okɑ̌lɑ̌h IV, unɔ̌ŋɔ̌ŋ III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by Plate 10: Halopegia azurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkɔ̌n I) and

197 she connects it with Delafosse's West African group, harking back to
114 its non-Bantu character in Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/.

Father Trilles and Abbé Walker believe that they have found Semitic and Hagnitic influences in Fang. A borrowing from Sudanese appears more likely. Westermann classes "Bati" in the semi-Bantu group, pointing out that the term "Sudanese languages possessing classes" seems to him more appropriate. Now, we know that Beti (Ati), which is losing ground today to Ewondo, is itself very close to Fang (Betsi-Mazouna) and recently reached to the northern limits of Boulou, which it has influenced.

We may therefore come to the conclusion that the Pahouin linguistic group, at present very close to Bantu, ought probably to be considered intermediate between the true Bantu tongues and the semi-Bantu or Sudanese class languages, historical circumstances and contact with neighboring peoples having accentuated the Bantu traits in such a way that it is proper, from the methodological point of view especially, to classify it as a special family of the Bantu group (1).

1. In the absence of specific mention, it seems that Greenberg (no. 70) would classify it in his Nigero-Congo group. [i.e., Niger-Congo. -Analyst]

Chapter 4

Economic Life

1. Subsistence

222 The diet of the Pahouin peoples would be enough to prove that
262 their attachment to the land is quite recent. In fact the importance of collected produce is striking. According to a study carried out in Eton country (region of Yaoundé) by Dr. Masseyeff, the consumption of mushrooms amounts on Eton average to 4.1 grams per day per person (1). Snails, termites, caterpillars, palm larvae, and crickets

1. R. Masseyeff, A. Cambon, Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroon, Rapport à l'Office

6:Alexandre and Binet--32 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

222
262

de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer /Inquiry into nourishment in the Cameroons, Report made to the Oversea Scientific and Technical Research Office/, I.R.C.A. M., Yaoundé.

are also eaten. "If this inquiry had taken place 30 years ago, the list of foods would have been much longer. Many leaves and fruits that used to be gathered were neglected, then given up altogether.... Likewise, game has become scarce...." (2) In many villages there

224
264

2. Compiègne (no. 13) pointed out as long ago as 1875 the ravages to herds of elephants caused by Fang "hunting parties," which killed male, female, and young elephants indiscriminately.

The following are the principal hunting techniques now in use:

Shooting: With crossbow for monkeys and large birds, using "bamboo" strophanthin-poisoned arrows; with guns for large game: guns with central percussion /sic/ in the Cameroon, with trade guns in Gabon (these, which are prohibited in the Cameroons, are superior for shooting amagai at elephants, which often causes improved rifles to burst); beating and calling.

Battue /beating/: Dogs wearing little bells drive the game into nets, where it is finished off by spearing.

Snaring: Snares of elephant hair for francolin /partridge/ and small mammals (a method used particularly by children); wire snares for boar and antelope; pitfalls for elephant; trenches with stakes, plain trenches, dead-end trenches; 4-shaped deadfalls /quatre-de-chiffre/; land weirs; portcullis cages; snaring with latex; poisoned bait (for panther and wildcat).

224
242 Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

●232 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of
242

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but
201 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam
219 streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

260 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewondo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosoma sagittifolia /malanga/. Various kinds
[177] of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside
[271] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,